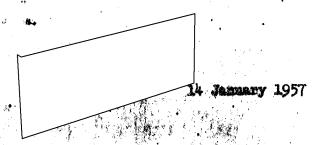
EO 12958 6.2(c) (C)



Report on a Review of Radio Free Europe Broadcasta Benned to
Hungary, from 34 October to 4 Hovenbee 1936

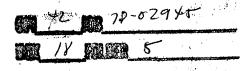
Per request, I organized an informal group, constating of and syself, to make the tapes of broadcasts beamed by Radio Free Europe to Humary during the position of Government to a Tolius Jacobs.

With the exception of myself, all the sen mentioned are from co/fee.

were to bear in mind certain questions which were enumerated for us. Specifically, these questions are listed below, together with our comments.

Question 1. Is there any evidence that HVS procedurate directly inspired or provoked the uprising? Comment. Hone. Question. Did HVS make repusamendations for action short of armed rebellion which could have incided the revolution? Comment. No. The primary role of RVS was that of a transmitter of news. Historical procedent was frequently quoted. Examples from 24 October procedurate: "The battle for freedom is being fought by the entire people. To see approach this battle. opposes the people. The police in Rast dermany and Pousan did not fire on the people. He who turns his weapon against the Banarian people will pay for this." Or another example: "Leaders of armed groups and party functionaries, your place is on the side of the people. He is a traitor the rises against the people in the people's battle." Such advice did not seem to us to incipe. It was materialine to continue the battle for freedom. Commentators interpreted the news, sus the direct reporting of news seemed to us to be straightforward and impartial.

Question 2. Did RFR at anytime directly or indirectly imply that military aid from outside would come or might come to the financian patriotel Comment. It did not. One comment related to this question was a quotation in Seel #15, 29 October, from a speech by John Foster bulles which appreced these sympathy for the suffering Eugerians and said that the U.S. will take forceful steps for practical assistance. We take this to mean medical, extending or other similar assistance. Another comment in real #9 of 4 Eventual in the London Observer by its Washington correspondent in part as follows if the Eugerians hold out for 3-4 days, intense presure will be brought to hear on the U.S. to offer military assistance to Eugery.



78-2940/18/5

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Question 3. Did RFE call for passive actions such as general strike or failure to deliver farm products? Commant. Here again, RFE taked its broadcasts on the news from Hungary, where the workers were on strike. In special messages to both the workers and the peasants, there was continuing emphasis on the fact that for non-fighters the best weapon was the strike, and that peasants should provide food and whatever other assistance they sould to the fighters for freedom. Examples from real #5, 26 October: "...Workers. Hungarians do not report back to work while the Soviets are mardering our brothers: Order the Hivlet soldiers back to their barracks." Later, in the same real, Follow Maroly speaks to the villagers and peasants. He says, among other things that work has stopped in the villagers. The villagers stand solidly behind the heroes of Budapest. The longer villagers do not go back to work the longer the present regime will be embarassed. In addition, there were appeals to the peasants to give food to the freedom fighters, to take half their food into the cities. To the artest that the peasants were asked to do this, this would be considered a call for passive action on failure to deliver farm products.

Question 4. The policy guidance did permit NFS to serve as a communications center for reporting back to Hungary of broadcasts made by this patrict radios. Did RFE limit its activities to straight reproducests or is there evidence that RFE editorialized and added to the patriot broadcasts or is there evidence that tell; RFE did not editorialize but limited its reproducests to straight reporting of what this or that patriot radio said. It also reproducest appeals for medical assistance, and later, messages from Hungarians who had gone abroad, back to their colleagues. In the same that patriot radio broadcasts were reproducest on a selected basis, we believe there was no editorializing but to believe there was a certain amount of editing. For example, only one patriot radio broadcast critical of RFE was rebroadcast and answered (real 7, 2 Bovenber), where radio Gyor took offense at something Prof. Shador Varga of Munich thiversity said in a speech originally broadcast by RFE in real 62, on 1 Bovenber 1996.

Question 5. Did NTS offer savice as to political demands which the patriots should make? Comment. We believe our assess to this constitute sticile be a qualified affirmative; qualified to the extent that we cannot determine effective such demands originated with the patriots or whether with RES. In assessi, advice was that of caution,—"beware of traitors," "observe solidarity, is one instance (real \$7, 29 October) Colonel Bell warms the Bindarian soldiers to be saveful of trickery in the new order to cease fire, mentioning the case of the from horse as a lesson. Another type of advice was, for example, on the establishment of Entional Committees, peasant councils, etc. Then there were suggestions that the AVI he abolished, free mentions should be held, etc. At the sanctive, however, it should be noted that RFS frequently exhorted against revenge, stating that Bingary his was an honorable, alean battle and that it should not because this with orderests of revenge. Question. In this connection to what extent did RFS intervent in suggesting political leaders or in attacking Bungarian political leaders? Connection the PFS part of this question, did RFS intervent in suggesting political leaders. The lives part of this question, did RFS intervent in suggesting political leaders. The revence of requent attacks first on dero, then as any and lates to Made. Seather with all their colleagues who had been or are committed. The second part is another to the second part is another.

Gallicus, Janus and others led the attack on the political leaders, Colonal Bell on the military. The RFE reporting on Magy is a case study in itself. Beginning with the announcement on 24 October that Many was the new Prime Minister of Rungary, RFE criticizes Nagy, comparing him to Gero. In real \$10 of 24 October, for example, Gallieus comments that the revolution first asked for the restoration of Magy, who imposed martial law as his first act. Later, in reel #13, same day, Gallicus delivers an impassioned talk on who is responsible for Soviet troops in Mungary and states that the responsibility for this crime will be determined by the future. On 20 October, in reel #14 Andor Gellert spends 10 minutes in commenting on the responsibility of Nagy for events. He states that Magy called in Soviet troops to thingary and imposed martial law. "This is probably the greatest example of a traitor in history." On 26 October (real #5) in a general commentary on the history of the past 24 hours, it is said that Gero is primarily responsible for what happened, and will the Nagy government do anything about bringing Gero to justice. On 29 October (reel #18) Balaza Balog still attacks Magy, who lies, he says. Colonel Bell, in reel #2 on 1 November comments on the announcement of the regime that Magy was not responsible for martial law, etc., that it was Gero and Regedus who ordered this. Then, Colonel Bell says, "if we accept this, why didn't Magy release Mindszenty?" Later the same day, 1 November, Janus (reel 37) speaks about the 3 renegades, Gerd, Hededus and Piros, and states that according to Negy, Gero was responsible for Soviet intervention. Criticism of Nagy himself seems to taper off, with comments limited to selected members of his regime unacceptable to the Hungarian people. Through the 4th of November, Magy is primarily a news item, with reporting of his activities culminating in his appeal to the UN and his arrest by the Soviet troop*.

Question 6. Did RFE broadcast full texts of the speeches made by the President, the Secretary of State and Ambassador Lodge or were these speeches covered in political commentary with quotes taken out of context? Comment. In general, quotes from these speeches were used in straight news reporting. There is no evidence of quotes taken out of context for political reporting. On 4 November in the several rects devoted to the special rebroadcast of UN General Assembly proceedings, there was a complete rebroadcast in English with Bungarian on-the-spot translation of Ambassador Lodge's speech presenting his resolution.

Question 7. In connection with rebreadcasting of patriot radios, is there any evidence that RFE played down the more flamboyant demands. For example, some of the patriot radios called for Cardinal Mindszenty to become Premier of Hungary. Did PFE avoid broadcasting this? It is recognized that this last point will be very difficult to cover but if there is evidence, it should be reported. Comment. No. The example given, call for Cardinal Mindszenty to become Premier of Mungary was not rebreadcast by RFE. There were frequent references to Mindszenty, particularly vital regard to his whereabouts. These comments were made in connection with the release of the Prelate of Poland and requested the release of Mindszenty in the same manner. "The people want to hear Cardinal Mindszenty...The people want a spiritual leader... Cardinal Mindszenty should be released so he could assume the leadership of the Catholic Church in Hungary."

- 3. In general, we are agreed that news was usually reported in an impartial manner. Very frequently, there were sentences spoken in by unidentified speakers between program items. We believe, however, that if we put duselves in the position on Hungarian listeners, these sentences could not be considered as "inciting," they would inspire one to continue the battle for freedom, but not to start it.
- h. On occasion, some of the speakers, like Colonel Bell, Joseph Molnar and others, sounded emotional. Two things should be borne in mind, a) Hungarians are basically emotional, and b) this was an emotional occasion. It seems to us that when twelve years of tyranny are opposed with the first possibility of success, emotionalism can be understood.
- 5. It may seem presumptions on our part to comment on how some of these broadcasts may be used. Hevertheless, we feel it incumbent on us to warn that sentences or phrases could possibly be taken out of these broadcast to serve to buttress the point that RFE "incited." These sentences would be out of context, a common propagands trick.
 - 6. The comments reported reflect our joint opinion.

CIA Mbrarian

CONCURRENCES: